2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

could be sold four times. The usual transfer was to sisters married to one man, in which instances the women acquired rights in the sacred robe and other paraphernalia of that section, and the husband took over the balance of the bundle. Such purchases were made only after several years of married life, as it was considered a sign of bad luck for common bundle-owners to quarrel. Crows Heart explained that having a common interest in a bundle was a powerful factor in making marriages permanent. Sale was not made until the parent-in-law taboo had been removed.

The prominence of these bundles is demonstrated by their representation in the Okipa ceremony. During the early summer all men owning primary and secondary rights in a Small Hawk ceremony met in one of their earth lodges to select two young men to represent their bundles in that summer's Okipa ceremony. Either young men of this group or men who were eligible to inherit a bundle were selected to dance in the ceremony and to receive goods offered to Small Hawk bundle-owners.

Women owning rights in the bundle were entitled to dress in the sacred robe, place sage and magpie tail feathers in the hair, and carry the ash digging stick at the close of the Okipa ceremony, when separate offerings were made to them by the Okipa Maker and his fellow-fasters and on other occasions when a feast was made to the bundle as a Buffalo-calling ceremony.

The rites are based on the exploits of Corn Silk, who visited the small hawk at his lodge on the eastern horizon where he lived with his mother. This small hawk, being a good hunter, taught the Buffalo-calling rites. Because he could produce thunder, he also introduced a rain-calling rite. His son, Looks Down To Hunt, inherited all his father's powers.

The holy robe and its rites have as their mythological origin Looks Down To Hunt's experiences on the northern horizon where he encountered his wife's mother who lived in a large earth lodge. After avoiding many hazards which she had set up to protect her people, the buffaloes, she was obliged to free these animals. The Mandan had many sacred robes, but each had its separate origin myth.

The myth throws light on the native theories of the universe. In one place Looks Down To Hunt asked the spider for his body

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in order that he could retreat to the lowest level in the universe. It was believed that the earth comprised four horizontal levels and that the surface of the earth was the top level. The sky was likewise made up of four semicircular hemispheres shaped like an earth-lodge roof and supported by four posts. This belief was associated with rites performed by a female robe-owner whenever a new lodge was erected or an old one repaired.

There was no spring or autumn bird feast, as in the case of the Big Bird bundles. When the bundle-owners were paid to perform the Buffalo-calling ceremony, the man officiated as the singer, carried the rattles, and wore the hawk on his head; his wife was dressed in the robe, wore the sage and magpie tail feathers, used the ash stick to dig a small hole near the head of the lodge, and "called up the buffaloes," as had been done by Frog Earrings in the mythology. A young man, about to go to war, asked the help of a bundle-owner belonging to his father's clan and promised to make an offering to the bundle upon his return. For this, he received a feather to wear on his head when in battle.

The sacred robe was held in high regard as a means of warding off misfortune. Because of the wicked disposition and power of Frog Earrings, whom the robe represented, it was believed that men took to wearing women's clothing and followed female avocations. She was also believed to be the cause of insanity, feeble-mindedness, malformations, twisted jaws, and premature births.

SMALL HAWK MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[3]

It was the fall of the year. Corn Silk and her nine brothers were living together. Whenever any young man would ask her to marry him, she would refuse. One of the brothers always spoke for the young man, but there was one of them who never paid any attention to her or urged her to marry. A young man, an unusually fine hunter, asked her to marry, and the brother who had been silent was disappointed, for he thought she would surely marry this one. He said to her, "I have never spoken before, so I think you should heed my words. At other times, our other brothers acted as spokesmen. This man is such a good provider you should marry him. You will have a comfortable home and everything you need. I think you should listen to me."

Corn Silk did not obey the request, and the mother was angry and said, "One of your brothers never spoke, but this man was a good provider, and he

3. Another version of this myth is reported in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 63–76.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 425 bundles containing articles representing sacred beings believed to be living in the world above, which would include People Above bundles, Star, and Holy Women bundles.

778 755 Bundle-owners doctored for insanity, feeble-mindedness, spasms and fits, premature births, and paralysis. Payment was made if the patient recovered, or, when the case was given up as hopeless, the relatives requested that the doctor continue his efforts. Pine needles were burned as incense, and the Black Medicine root was chewed and blown over the victim. The songs were sung while using a large gourd rattle.

778 Calf Woman believed that the bundles were primarily war bundles because the Sun was a cannibal who brought war parties together and had some killed so he could eat them. Men having the Sun as their god believed that it would be the enemy who would be killed.

778 425 One could sell rights in the bundle four times but usually reserved singer rights and the rattle for the oldest daughter and her husband. Women buying with the husband held Holy Woman rights to Old Woman Above and were entitled to wear magpie feathers and a braid of sweet grass and to carry an ash digging stick when attending a medicine feast.

772 Calf Woman added this general information about the beliefs associated with the ritual of the ceremony:

The world is in three layers: above world; the land we live on; and the lower land. First Creator and Lone Man created the land we live on. These lands and the sky are held apart by four large posts, for the universe is a large earth lodge. The earth is floating on water which separates it from the lower land because water comes out of the ground. There are people living on these three lands.

821 Sun dies during an eclipse. When there is a total eclipse of Sun, those with People Above bundles, which always includes Sun, burn pine spills that come from the Rocky Mountains, while all the people cry. Even the dogs cry. If the people are on the march when Sun dies, they stop to cry until Sun comes back to life. Sometimes Sun is sick, and then only part of the sun is dark.

Comets and constellations are people who once lived on the earth as holy people. The people were getting careless and broke the rules and did not treat these holy people right, so they went back to the sky and are making their home there now. When one sees a star going across the sky, it is because it is changing places, traveling as an arrow.

838 I saw three men who dressed like women; one was a Mandan, a brother to Four Bears;[3] the other two were Hidatsa. If a man dreams of the Holy Women and later finds a rope or porcupine quills in the forest, that is a sign that these

3. Four Bears also had a son who dressed in women's clothing.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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who lives on the planet Venus and protects men. Fifth was one called the Lying Prairie Wolf, a sort of wandering Jew and evil spirit, but without power. Lastly was Ochkih-Hedde; he came once to the village and taught them many things, then disappeared. When anyone saw him in a dream it was a sign of death. Sacrifices were offered to him and images of him were exposed in the village. 776

The sun was worshipped as the place where the Lord of Life lived. In the moon lived the Old Woman Who Never Dies, who had a white line around her head. She corresponded to the Corn Mother of the Arikara and was supposed to be very powerful. Many sacrifices were offered to her. She had six children, three sons and three daughters. The first son was day (the first of creation), the second was the sun, the third was night. The eldest daughter was the morning star (the woman who carries a bunch of feathers), the second was the striped pumpkin (a star revolving about the polar star), the third was the evening star. Besides these there was a group of supernatural beings of less prominence, among whom were the first chief, certain animal people, the thunder-bird and similar beings. 776 772

They seemed to have two distinct theories as to the hereafter, according to Maximilian part of the people adhered to each view. Both beliefs agreed that each man had four souls, one black, one brown, one clear, and the other not described. The first sect believed that the clear soul returned to the Lord of Life; another one went to the villages to the south which are often visited by the gods, and one of the souls of the brave and great men went to the villages of the gods. There was a separate village for the wicked. Life in all these villages was a continuance of that on earth, they had food, women, went hunting and on war parties, and had an abundance of everything. To this might be added Catlin's story,[1] somewhat less credible, that they believed in a warm heaven and a cold hell; that all went to hell for a while where the Good Spirit punished them, after which they went to heaven where they were again tempted by the Evil Spirit. The other sect described by Maximilian believed that after death they went to live in the sun or stars.[2] 775

[1] Op. cit., vol. 2, p. 187.

[2] Op. cit., p. 400.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

in the form of an aged man, and, at others, in that of a young man. The first man, Numank-Machana, holds the second rank; he was created by the lord of life, but is likewise of a divine nature. The lord of life gave him great power, and they, therefore, worship and offer sacrifices to him. He is nearly identical with Nanabush among the Chippeways, or the people of the Algonquin language, who, according to the notion of those tribes, acts as mediator between the creator and the human race. Nanabush and the creator frequently had disputes, and the Mandans have similar legends. Omahank-Chika, the evil one of the earth, is a malignant spirit, who has, likewise, much influence over men, but who is not as powerful as the lord of life and the first man. The fourth being is Rohanka-Tauihanka, who lives in the planet Venus, and it is he who protects mankind on the earth; for without his care the race would have been long since extinct. A fifth being, who, however, has no power, is something like the wandering Jew, ever in motion, and walking on the face of the earth in human form. They call him the lying prairie wolf. Besides these there is a sixth being, Ochkih-Hadda, whom it is difficult to class, and of whom they have a tradition, that whoever dreams of him is doomed soon to die. He appears to figure in their traditions as a kind of devil, is said to have once come to their villages, and taught them many things, but has not since appeared. They are afraid of him, offer sacrifices to him, and have in their villages a hideous figure representing him. They worship the sun, because they believe it to be the residence of the lord of life. All their medicines or sacrifices are offered chiefly to the sun, or rather to the lord of life, as inhabiting it. In the moon, say they, lives the old woman who never dies, and who wears a white band from the front to the back of the head; sacrifices and offerings are likewise made to her. They do not know who she is, but her power is great. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who all live in certain stars. The eldest son is the day (the first day of the creation), the second is the sun, in which the lord of life has his abode. The third son is the night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the morning star; and they call her, "the woman who wears a plume." The second daughter, called "the striped gourd," is a high star which revolves around the polar star; and, lastly, the third daughter is the evening star which is near to the setting sun.

The old woman in the moon desired to find a wife for her son, and brought a girl, whom she desired to wait outside the door. When the old woman sent out to fetch her, they found in her place a toad; indignant at the exchange, the toad was boiled in a vessel, that it might be destroyed. But this could not be done, nor could it be eaten, and it was, therefore, cursed, on which it remained always visible as a spot in the moon. The narrator could not say whether the sun was large or small, but, at all events, it was glowing hot. The son married a woman whom they called "the narrow-leaved wormwood." They had a son, of great promise, who appeared destined to act an important part. He was very skilful in making arrows, and versed in all kinds of hunting and catching of animals. He shot birds for his mother, though she had